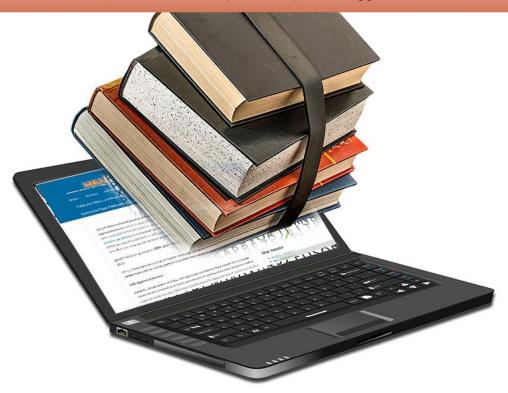




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GLOBALIZATION: CHANGING LANGUAGE AND LANDSCAPE

IN HYBRID TIMES

Abstract

One can get fascinated by the economics of language and the language of economics which can narrowly be confined to a term called "rhetoric" Adam Smith the Father of Economics was very good at rhetoric. English as an eclectic language seems easy to learn and to earn. Reinvention in and through the language has brought local to the global and vice versa. The role of transnational organizations also has to be assessed contextually. Language, however, with its immense potential of criticism, often tends to confront and challenge the existing ideologies and institutions in order to influence decisions and directions for regrouping of people and their ideas. While borderless economy is a reality, neo liberalization has to accept the fact that English has to work more and more as a border language. This is so because while language can build and manage a communication space it has to allow and enable multiple forms of interaction in a diverse and dynamic socio-economic world. This paper seeks to debate the issue of language in the era of globalization. The paper emphasizes that a one-dimensional view of language is like looking at globalization as McDonaldization contrary to the power and patterns of language use. Given the trend of globalization of languages it explores the possibility, nay inevitability of "linguistic social responsibility" akin to corporate social responsibility.

Keywords: Globalization, hybridity, identity, language, market, transnational

1. Introduction

'Language never stops changing'. (Anon)

The world has moved increasingly away from regulation towards integration – under

the phenomena called globalization. With new modes of commodity and cultural entries and

exchanges, the importance of language in general and English language, in particular, has to

be analysed in the changing circumstances.

It is acknowledged that under closer market networking, the English language has had

to reduce barriers of communication and produce new spheres of speech engagement and

service exchanges. Even global English is now a decentralised and distance-reducing

language in that it makes the new constructs and meanings appealing and adaptable by non-

hegemonic groups. English as a universal language seems easy to learn and to earn.

However, the battle over language is not over.

Reinvention in and through the language has brought local to the global and vice

versa. The role of transnational organisations also has to be assessed contextually. There are

studies to prove that language not only profoundly influences how people perceive wor(1) d,

but also impacts their implicit preferences.

Language, however, with its immense potential of criticism, often tends to confront

and challenge the existing ideologies and institutions in order to influence decisions and

directions for regrouping of people and their ideas.

All meaning is dual; every interactive meeting is crucial. How can we ignore the anti-

globalization movement? Therefore, while the borderless economy is a reality, neo-

liberalisation has to accept the fact that English has to work more and more like a border

language. This is so because while language can build and manage a communication space, it has to allow and enable multiple forms of interaction in a diverse and dynamic socioeconomic world. This paper seeks to debate the unsettled issue of language in the era of globalization. The paper emphasises that a one-dimensional view of language is like looking at globalization as "McDonaldization" contrary to the power and patterns of language use. Given the trend of globalization of languages, it explores the possibility, nay inevitability of 'linguistic social responsibility' akin to corporate social responsibility.

II. English – from Classic to Modernity

The scope of languages in general and that of English, in particular, is changing quick and thick in the changing global landscape. With changing economic structures including that of exchange, structural changes are also happening in all human languages and communication. Even for the emerging countries like India, with a multilingual society or countries where English is not the native language the influence and impact of changing syntax of English is illumination if not wholly instructional. We are Anglo-clones and yet Indians (Sarkar, 2015).

Today we are witness to the 'Development of English' in all its dimensions and diversities – as a 'lingua franca', as World English varieties - and also as a second language. English now features strongly among highly mobile speakers, subjecting it to particularly intense and varied language contact. The new language of the Internet, i.e. shorthand/slang used in texting by the new generation mobile users only goes to prove that whether it is culture or communication, technology is just a pretext for convergence – though not necessarily cosy – of text and context. The periods of increased mobility have tended to lead to accelerated language change. We can, therefore, expect fast changes in English. Today researchers are into the cross-disciplinary investigation of the processes and products of

intense, complex and sustained language contact in different varieties. Scholars belong to different research traditions with the major areas being –

- Contact linguistics
- Typology
- English as a lingua franca (ELF)
- Second language acquisition and use (SLA and SLU)
- Cognitive linguistics
- Multilingualism

Language is always changes - evolving and adapting to the needs of its users. This is not a bad thing. If English had not changed since, say, 1950, we would not have words to refer to modems, fax machines, or cable TV. As long as the needs of language users continue to change, so will the language. We get new words from many different sources. We borrow them from other languages (sushi, chutzpah), we create them by shortening longer words (gym from gymnasium) or by combining words (brunch from breakfast and lunch, friend and enemy for frenemy); and we make them out of proper names (Levis, Fahrenheit). Language, thus, evolves. This feature is just like that of money.

What is common about money and word? Both are coined and circulated; both have face value and intrinsic value; both can get overvalued and undervalued at different times, and both can be economical in use. The choice of words could also reflect the nature of the society of the times – highly commercial and consumerist, for instance. However,

¹ Many years ago an Indian Professor who was staying in the US narrated to us an incident wherein a lady student of a college expressed her intimacy with her boyfriend with the expression 'I am sold on him....' (rather than the cliché 'I love him very much'). He asks her, 'then why don't you marry him?' and she answers, 'that's a million dollar question'. This, I feel is like in the lyrics of an Abba song, 'Money, money, money/Must be funny/In the rich man's world...' This also reminds me of a dialogue of Juliet in *Romeo Juliet*: 'Give me my Romeo... Oh, I have bought the mansion of a love/ But not possessed it, and though I am sold. Not yet enjoyed... To an impatient child that hath new robes/And may not wear them.'

irrespective of the socio-economic status one has the freedom of using words which are "rich" in meaning.² The international order does change. Word order also changes and shifts, though this process is much slower. Sometimes the change may be a shift in "emphasis". Old English word order was much more "free" than that of Modern English and even comparing the Early Modern English of the King James Bible with today's English shows differences in word order. For example, the King James Bible translates Matthew 6:28 as 'Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not.' In a more recent translation, the last phrase is translated as 'they do not toil'. English no longer places "not" after the verb in a sentence.

The sounds of a language change over time, too. About 500 years ago English began to undergo a significant change in the way its vowels were pronounced. Before that, geese would have rhymed with today's pronunciation of face, while mice would have rhymed with today's peace. However, then a 'Great Vowel Shift' began to occur during which the ay sound (as in pay) changed to ee (as in fee) in all the words containing it, while the sound changed to i (as in pie). Was not English more elegant in Shakespeare's day? People tend to think that older forms of language are more elegant, logical, or correct than modern forms, but it is just not true. The fact that language is always changing does not mean it is getting worse; it is just becoming different.

III. Modernity and the New Waves of Hybridity

In many cases, the increased growth in the use of the English language can be attributed to educational, economic, or cultural globalization. Giddens (2000) defined globalization as a separation of space and time, emphasising that with instantaneous communications, knowledge, and culture could be shared around the world simultaneously. Globalization has been viewed primarily as an economic phenomenon, involving the

² 'Tighten your belts' is what our PMs and FMs tell us when they want to indicate hard times for the economy. Such idioms unwittingly *enrich* the philosophy of poverty.

increasing interaction, or integration of national economic systems through the growth in international trade, investment, and capital flow. However, the definition has expanded to include also cross-border social, cultural, political, and technological exchanges between nations and in particular, between people. This exchange is in the new exodus or transnationalisation.³ Hybridity – whether intentional or hyper-intentional 0- is a crucial concept with political connotations and economic bearings the area of post-colonial theory with serious implications in diaspora studies and the many avatars spawned by it (Shivaramakrishnan, 2016). Development of the diaspora also shows the churning of words and the journey of languages. As Bolsckei would write:

The pastor, an exile and resident alien, reached out to offer the strong hand of fellowship to a flock of refugees. This group spoke a language he knew. Others would speak different ones, but all shared the condition of having been uprooted from home and everything familiar. The young man remembered that from his own experience. Thankful to have been received into this community, these new exiles asked for prayers for the friends they had left far away, and help for themselves... (Bolcskei, 2005).⁴

Language thus can be boundless, and a route to go back to the roots. Indian poet R. Parthasarathy returned to Tamil after writing in English for decades. He is oft-quoted as speaking his ambivalence as a post-colonial writer. See for instance, in his poem "Homecoming":

³ The term transnational, coined by writer Randolph Bourne (1886–1918), in his 1916 article "Trans-National America," is favoured by most of the modern writers over such generic or overused terms as international or global. The critical elements of transnational – that builds bridges between communities - are the multiplicity of involvements and hybridity of cultures (including identities). Homi Bhabha refers to it as the creation of the "Third Space" which enables other positions to emerge. The hybrid nature of cultures encourages us to move away from the problematic qualities of essentialism and exclusionism inherent in notions of cultural "purity" and "Authenticity". See Homi K. Bhabha, *The locations of culture*, Routledge, London, 1994. This is how culture evolves – becoming and being, says Hall. See Stuart Hall, Cultural identity and diaspora. In Identity:

Community, culture, difference, ed. Jonathan Rutherford, 222–37. London: Lawrence & Wishart.

⁴ Bishop Gustav Boleskei, et al. "The Economic and Social Witness of Calvin for Christian Life Today", *Reformed World*, 55(1), 3-8. Cited in Hans, V. Basil (2006).

My tongue in English chains/I return after a generation, to you/I am at the end/of my dravidie tether/hunger for you unassuaged/I falter, stumble/Speak a tired language... (Parthasarathi, 1984).

Transformation in language and literature is a curious development in transnationalisation and the new Indian diaspora. It has amalgamated historical moorings with socio-economic bearings. The new generation of Indian diaspora has begun searching its roots in Indian soil and with the call for 'Make in India', a way to gather fruits too. The new crop of diasporic writers – Vikram Chandra, Amitav Gosh, Jumpa Lahiri and the like – are expending modern and post-modern concepts circling around materialism, consumerism, metropolitan aspirations and accomplishments. They draw multiple portraits of emerging India, examining the 'ethnic enclave' from the post-colonial Third World to the First World and the 'cultures of hybridity'. Visibly it is not "static" hybridity but a kind of 'culture in transition' where even a sojourn is an experience of entering a new world without giving up the past. Every issue of language and life is acknowledging the "otherness' which on the surface appears like a search for "identity" and/or the 'construction of identity' (Murty, 2015). No worry if the "other" comes from the bottom of the periphery. This is the essential framework of the Subaltern Studies, with the anti-essentialist approach. Foucault calls this 'web-like inclusiveness' more in a power context. For emerging powers like India, it is also "re-territorialisation" and "empowering" of minor literature with ample tributaries like feminist, ecological and ethical interventions. Breaking the myths of knowledge systems and stereotyped verbalism is now feasible and flexible. The changes taking place show the possibility of a more generous and pluralistic vision of the world. We must feel happy that nativism is not the only alternative in the era of 'enlightened post-nationalism' (Gandhi, 2015). It is unfortunate that we Indians have not sufficiently seized the opportunities for 'new humanities'.

Post-modernism under globalism is thus, is a sensibility with no lamentation for fragmentation. There is the surfing of the past but for the celebration of the present situation.⁵ In the USA, this trend is seen in attempts to update the old immigrant story and forging of a new Asian-American identity, not necessarily wholly recognisable in any part of their parent's native lands but, in its hybrid nature. This curve of hybridity is a locus of isolation, immersion, assimilation and re-appreciation (Hans, 2009). No nation, no community can be aloof to this process in the global village. To most of us in our times, English has been an effective aid to thinking globally while choosing to live locally, fighting for rights and right words, both for standards in life.⁶

Postmodernism is the cultural face of late capitalism and as a narrative had naturally to be a blend of communist (questions?) and capitalist (answers?). Was not neoclassical economic thought – which became popular later as "neoliberalism" – also similar to that phase of human society? However, as they say, 'there is no fixed centre to human life'. Then how can one language capture these shifts and movements? We may satisfy ourselves by saying that languages can help describe the "plurality" of cultures and narratives and that literature is (primarily) the production of interpretation. With such a diffused human subject and self-divided entity, the search for one's identity through linguistic modes continues day in and day out. Postmodernity is thus, a form in which the reader is asked to be aware of the reconstructing author, of the artifice... of the modern metamorphosis... the potential blend of the extraordinary and every day (Sanders, 2006).

Thus, hybridity is embedded in modernity although not always without discomfiting propinquities, as is the case with modern indentured labour in the MNCs. By and large, the

⁵ See Abhisarika Prajapati, "Articulation of Selfhood with the Intervention of Postmodernism in Monica Alis' *In the Kitchen*, The IUP Journal of English Studies, September 2015. Even Anglophone poetry has changed. The market -unaware Indian poet of the 80s, faintly apologetic about writing in English, is nowhere to be found today.

⁶ C.D. Narasimhaiah, A Personal Trajectory. Cited in Mukherjee, 2013.

language of hybridity seems to derive its theoretical impetus from an astute reaction of the de-colonising societies to oppression.

If all nations are cultural hybrids then what about the building blocks and bridges? Aren't they also hybrids? However, while every mode of communication is in some sense "hybrid," I think we can also use the term more narrowly to refer to a mixture that is intentional and perceptible, and not simply national and international. In India, the concept of 'Desi and the Pardesi' should be analysed with this perspective. "Bollywood" in this sense becomes "Bollystan", a neologism for the 'east meets west" symphony. The rapidity of such fusion can hardly be exaggerated in the "digital" era, or the 'Connected Age' wherein the distinction between ideology and imagology gets blurred. If modernity simply means 'revision of the customary' then attitudes to language, literature, science and technology are also purveyors of colonial modernity. The winds of change will blow everywhere, and I quote PB Shelly here: "If winter comes, can spring be far behind?"

Computer-mediated communication (CMC) is one of the features of globalization, and as a result, the Internet has become an important linguistic medium. It has been added to every aspect of human life, including the learning of languages. McLuhan even coined the term 'global village' in the 1960s to express his belief that electronic communication would unite the world because 'the medium is the message'. It is the rise of computer-mediated communication and the Internet, more than anything else, which has reshaped the uses of computers for language learning at the end of the 20th century. From fast communication to global knowledge creation, the Age of the Internet has 'virtually' shifted the text (Chetan, 2012).

With the advent of the Internet, the computer – both in society and in the classroom – has been transformed from a tool for information processing and display to a tool for information processing and communication. For the first time, learners of a language can now

communicate inexpensively and quickly with other learners of speakers of the target language all over the world. Digital learning is evolving. Social networking education looks beyond functional IT skills to describe a richer set of networking behaviours, practices and identities. The course and content also keep changing over time and across contexts. Thus, ICT learning or digital literacy impact in stages and forms:

- I. Access and awareness ('I have...'),
- II. Skills ('I can...'),
- III. Practices ('I do...') and
- IV. Identity ('I am...').

Only at the end of stage IV, the student is ready to be adapted in a workplace (Hans, 2015). The Internet also has an ever-growing impact on the lexical, phonetic, syntactic standards of language, and the great importance that most teachers place, or should put, on the use of 'correct' language. For example, this global technology has led to the evolution of an abbreviated English language that emerged in chat groups and in what is referred to as the virtual world. Examples for this feature include 2day (today), cu (see you), b4 (before), RUOK? (Are you OK?), c%l (cool), to mention but a few. In one creation namely 'ru2cnmel8r?' (Are you two seeing me later?), less than half the characters used in the traditional sentence formation are used. It seems that sentence length will tend to be short and that certain types of complex structures (relative clauses, for instance) will be avoided in Internet communication. In everyday conversation, terms from computer technology are given a new application among people who want their talk to have a "cool" tone (In slang-great, terrific).

Is reductionism the salient feature of modernism? Is modernism itself limited as it is often equated with "westernisation"? What has westernisation done to culture – addition?

addiction? exclusion?⁷ Further, what is West without the rest? Ashis Nandy commented that "the West" was everywhere, within the West and outside: in structure, and in minds'⁸ (Boehmer, 2009).

Now, I raise two questions –

Question (1): *Is globalization good or bad for languages?*

Globalization is believed by some to lead to an end of cultural diversity as it imposes sameness in the countries of the world; where everyone in the world is likely to drink Coca-Cola, eat American junk food, and watch American movies. Similarly, there has been a widespread belief that the Internet is bad for the future of many languages and enables rich (or technology able) countries to take monopoly over the content generated on the Internet and that it becomes a form of cultural and linguistic imperialism in which western values dominate. The descriptive approach, by contrast, does not condemn usages that do not follow the standardised rules of language set by linguistics. Instead, it describes the variations in usage found within a language and explains the reasons for variations in usages. The American usage favours the spelling "encyclopedia", whereas, traditional British usage favours the spelling "encyclopedia". Due to the dominant influence of the USA on the UK

⁷ Iranian writer Jalal-e-Ahmad comes with a new term, namely "westoxication". Indian sociologist Dipanker Gupta opines that this term portrays better than "westernisation" the kind of addiction to the consumerist values of the West prevalent in postcolonial India (Mohanty, 2011). The exclusionary tendencies become evident when language and culture can make patriots but not guarantee they love and respect compatriots.

⁸ See Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*, Oxford Unv. Press, New Delhi, 1983, p. xii.

during the twentieth century, American spelling was increasingly accepted and found in British publications. Descriptivists do not like the narrow-minded intolerance and misinformed purism of prescriptivists. Correspondingly, prescriptivists, do not like the all-inclusiveness and egalitarian philosophy of descriptivists, which they interpret as a lack of responsibility towards what is best in a language. Even after 250 years, the controversy over these linguistic approaches remains with the arguments being passed on by each generation and refuelled by the new (technological) developments within societies, such as broadcasting and the Internet. What should be of interest to either teachers or learners, in the fast-developing Internet literature, is to see the way writers are struggling to maintain a bent which is naturally descriptive and egalitarian while recognising a prescriptive argument to impose regularity and consistency on a world which otherwise might spiral out of control.

Question (2): Is the changing English a threat to Local Identity?

Our world is home to 7,105 living languages; among them, 1,481 are in trouble, and 906 are dying. As statistics of The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation indicate, it is estimated that if nothing is done half these languages spoken today will disappear by the end of this century. Seemingly, with the extinction of unwritten and undocumented languages, humanity would lose not only a cultural wealth but also essential ancestral knowledge embedded, in particular, in indigenous languages. Among all these languages "English" is the only language which is spoken by more people as a second language than a first language and as observed by non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers by a ratio of 3 to 1.

In the era of intensified globalization, the mobility of people across the world has increased too.

English is accepted as the language of global discourse and gaining mastery in the English language promises financial security as well as social adjustment. Experts maintain that language shift only takes place if the language being shifted to has 'social prestige' and 'economic advantage', primarily in the form of a source of income. The high demand from industries for employees with English fluency has successfully encouraged job seekers to equip themselves with English and being competent in English leads to well-paid jobs too. A clear example of this category is "immigrants". When a group of different minority language communities live in a dominant context, they would have very little chance to practice their language. This could happen both in internal and external migration. In both situations the speakers of minority languages have little chance to practice their local language and would have to shift to the dominant language; otherwise, they would not be able to survive and would be isolated. Without shifting to the language of host context the risk of isolation and being isolated would increase too. One argument is that they (i.e. immigrants) see no reason to keep their language, therefore, shift to the dominant one.

Moreover, in external migration, the chance of practising the local language is even more limited, and the shift happens more consciously and at a faster pace. For example, the applicants who wish to work, live or study in Australia are required to pass the English language proficiency test to be eligible to apply. This indicates that such applicants make a conscious choice to choose English; otherwise, they would not be eligible.

There are new roles for English in the era of globalization. The globalised world has positive outcomes particularly in educational context, as it will lead educationalists to develop methodologies which will focus on English as a medium to connect the heterogeneous structure of the world. Having an appropriate sociolinguistic knowledge of one's native language is an essential tool in learning English. In the case of minority speakers, such approach in teaching English minimises the risk of cultural or linguistic imperialism.

Intensity, scale and scope of globalization which increases day by day make people learn English as a medium to compete internationally. In this view English is no more the killer language; instead, it is a means of international communication which enhances cultural dynamics among speakers of different languages without threatening minority languages. Educationists in general and language teachers, in particular, are now discussing the significance of English as an International Language (EIL) and suggest that 'English is the key as an international language in a global sense in enabling countries to discuss and negotiate political, social, educational, and economic concerns'. They emphasise that learning English is necessary to have access to global discourses.

The view of English as an International Language frames English as an instrument of communication and expression of culture as she mentions that in global scale English enables speakers to exchange culture and idea. At the same time, it is possible to differentiate between language for communication and language for identification. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) enables people from different language background to converse in international scale and that this role of English minimises the threat to other languages. Admittedly, English as the medium of international communication empowers all rather than just a particular group of speakers. Favouring one particular variety of English as the Standard English gets threatening to minority language speakers' identity and defers international communication. Therefore scholars emphasise on different variations of English rather than one specific type (e.g. American or British English).

New roles of English (EIL or ELF) on a global scale seem promising in the process of globalization with structural and functional changes. Nevertheless, the actualisation of detailed components in new roles of English requires a revolutionary change in language policy and practice and the main obstacle would be "attitudinal". Research suggests that implementing English as either an International Language or Lingua Franca (EIL or EFL) not

only provides the opportunities for social mobility and modernity but also eliminates the probability of losing the national language, which is the carrier of identity, by helping people to be identified to the whole world as they are given voices. To keep the native languages alive, it is not enough to value them; it is essential to use them. To survive language loss which is also identity loss, getting involved in international interactions and communications is required. In this sense, globalised media can have a crucial role to support local languages. World Wide Web provides endless support to introduce local and minority languages interactively. Keeping written records or video records of minority languages also can help to pass it on to next generations. Educational strategies and suitable methodology to teach English increases people's awareness and provides insights about the value of their local language. Value determination is the heart of "economics".

V. Economics of English

In this era of knowledge-based revolution, where knowledge is essential for creating value, the English language has become the most influential tool for conducting global communication. It does not matter that English is spoken by only 8% of the world's population as their first language. What does matter is that English functions as the primary language for creating and exchanging knowledge all over the world? Thus, English plays a pivotal role in acquiring and spreading knowledge.

It is estimated that about 70% of information delivered on the Internet uses English, and English is the dominant language used in writing intellectual and scientific journals. Koreans spend substantial time and energy learning English. Between 2004 and 2005, 102,340 Koreans sat for TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). Koreans represented 18.5% of the total 554,942 people taking the test worldwide. According to Korea's Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), each Korean student spends an average

of 15,548 hours learning English from middle school through college. If you add the portion of pre-schoolers taking English in kindergarten, Korea spends an enormous amount of time studying the language. Koreans do not just spend much time studying English. According to an estimate by the Samsung Economic Research Institute, Koreans spend a total of 14.3 trillion Won annually for taking private English tutoring classes. Also, they spend 700 billion Won a year applying for tests evaluating their English proficiency. Together, these two expenses accounted for 1.9% of Korea's nominal GDP (806.6 trillion Won) in 2005. The power of the English Language is armed with (1) Expanding business opportunity, (2) Personal opportunity, (3) Cultural Opportunities.

The term 'economics of language' first appeared in 1965, when Jacob Marschak published a relatively unknown article in 1965 with that title in Behavioural Science. Marschak asked questions such as: "[What are the] communication systems [that are] best suited to a given goal [?] [...] Why are the known languages of the present and the past what they are or were? [...] What determines the probability that a set of traits will remain in existence for a given length of time?" On these issues, Marschak offered his reflections from an economic perspective, viewing language as an object of choice.

Further contributions to the economics of language emerged shortly after Marschak, but they did not follow on the same path. Instead, they were related to official language policy analysis in independent national states where several languages co-exist. They were interested more in the relationships between languages than in communication within a particular language.

Research shows a direct correlation between the English skills of a population and the economic performance of the country. Indicators like gross national income (GNI) and gross domestic product (GDP) go up. In the latest edition of the EF English Proficiency Index (EF EPI), the largest ranking of English skills by country, it was found that in almost every one of

the 60 countries and territories surveyed, a rise in English proficiency was connected with a rise in per capita income. Moreover, on an individual level, recruiters and HR managers around the world report that job seekers with exceptional English compared to their country's level earned 30-50% per cent higher salaries. Does not matter English is still indebted to many other languages.

English has borrowed its lexicon from 84 languages, with French (25%) being the most important donor. Other influent languages are Japanese, Spanish, African languages, German and Greek. There are different reasons why foreign languages have entered English. One of them is connected with the trade or colonial occupation. Free trade being the order of the day under globalization, language always needs to face the threats by intellectual and economic developments, although the shift from "comparative" to comparative advantage is the basis of trade (Gilpin, 2008).

VI. Conclusion

Language never stops changing as long as people are using it. It transforms, and some of the forms are reverting to weak conjugation again, others are marked as archaic. In the process, we must acknowledge and analyse the diverse elements and multiplicity of involvements, including the hybridity of cultures, and be prepared to operate in the emerging Third Space where there is more 'give and take', even within the language shifts. That makes contemporary hybridity new, unusual and extraordinary whose impact is immense in the glocalising world.

My argument has been for saving minority languages even with the increasing language shift that is taking place putting English at the centre. Studies show that immigrant languages disappear through mother-tongue shift within three generations when immigrants

or their immediate descendants do not teach their non-English language to the next generation. This indeed is a tragic ending for human languages.

The hegemony of English is no excuse for monolingual native speakers to slack off but at least we will know, as we struggle to write our "adorable" emails in a foreign tongue, that our global colleagues will be making the same effort in reverse – and hopefully, in the end, we'll all understand each other a bit better.

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